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THE
UNITED NATIONS
AND WORLD
CITIZENSHIP

TOWARDS WORLD UNDERSTANDING

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WORLD UNDERSTANDING

THE UNITED NATIONS AND WORLD CITIZENSHIP

*The opinions expressed in this
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UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

19, Avenue Kléber, Paris 16^e

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INTRODUCTION

The report published here was prepared by a group of six teachers from Afghanistan, Chile, France, the Lebanon, Thailand, and the United States of America, who met together at Adelphi College, New York, for six weeks in 1948.*

They were members of a Unesco Seminar, a special form of international conference at which specialists, selected by their governments, are brought together to make an intensive study of specific educational problems; to use the study-group method on an international level; to prepare materials for national and international use; to draw up plans for action in the home countries of the participants; and to live for a period in an international community.

The Adelphi College Seminar on Teaching about the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies was organized by Unesco in co-operation with the United Nations, and was attended by thirty-six participants from twenty-one countries.

It was mainly concerned with teaching methods and practices, but the report which is printed here deals mostly with "adult thinking about world citizenship and the United Nations", and with the "background needed to make an informed and intelligent teacher". The report is followed by a statement prepared by two of the participants on "Introducing the United Nations to Schools of the Arab World" in which the attitude of Arab teachers towards the problem of presenting this subject to their pupils is discussed and some practical suggestions are made.

The report reflects the points on which agreement was eventually reached; but it should not be forgotten that the importance of the

*The report, as originally prepared, was approved by the six members responsible for it: Mr. Saroj Buasri (Thailand), Miss Madeleine Mauriac (France), Dr. Loutfalla Melki (Lebanon), Dr. Leopoldo Seguel (Chile), Mr. Mohammed O. Sidky (Afghanistan), Dr. Laurin Zilliacus (U. S. A.), Chairman of the Group and editor of the report.

Later, to ensure accuracy, some alterations were made in the original text. The version printed here, therefore, differs slightly from the one to which the members of the Group put their names.

small informal study groups, which are the main feature of each of Unesco's Seminars, is that in them different opinions and ideas can be expressed with a frankness which might be difficult in a larger gathering, and can be put forward without hesitation in groups in which a friendly co-operative approach to common problems has been established.

No seminar can, in fact, be judged by its publications. In a general summary of the Adelphi College Seminar prepared by a small committee of the participants, and approved, after discussion, by the Seminar as a whole, it was stressed that "each of us will take away from the Seminar much valuable information about the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, many ideas on methods of presenting the United Nations system in the schools, clearly thought-out concepts of education for a world society, and vivid impressions of the United Nations from first-hand experience. . . . everyone has experienced the international understanding and co-operation of which so much has been said. We return to our own countries more aware than ever before of the criticisms made of our own nations and of the differences which separate us; but also we have become conscious even more strongly than in the past of the similarities between the peoples of all countries".

These are important results which no materials, however brilliantly prepared during the Seminar, can hope to show adequately. They are the kind of results which international seminars are intended to produce. Group reports will, it is hoped, be of interest to many, but the final test of a seminar is its effect on the participants and, through them, on education in the countries from which they come.

All those interested in other publications produced at Unesco's Seminars are invited to write for copies to the Department of Education, Unesco House, 19, Avenue Kléber, Paris (16^e).

THE UNITED NATIONS AND WORLD CITIZENSHIP

The report that follows is a highly concentrated summary of the findings of a group of six people from six different parts of the world, meeting together in the stimulating if rather hectic atmosphere of a seminar. Their backgrounds were diverse, the problems uppermost in their minds were different, the points they stressed were at the outset not at all the same. Nevertheless, in six weeks of give and take, a remarkable measure of agreement was reached.

The findings of this group are in the field of adult thinking about world citizenship and the UN rather than in the field of teaching practice. Teaching materials and methods were the main object of study of the seminar, but it was felt that one group might well devote itself to the background needed to make an informed and intelligent teacher.

In the opinion of the writers of this report, we educators do not commonly know as much of the facts of world affairs as we should; nor have we given them enough thought. When we do begin to analyse our concepts critically and to face facts, we may find, as did this group, that we reach challenging conclusions. The conclusions presented here are not, of course, the opinions of Unesco. They are simply the tentative findings of a group of individuals.

NEED FOR A WORLD ORGANIZATION

In the world of today, no part of mankind can live in isolation from the rest. International war can no longer be confined to two or a few nations or even to the nations of a particular region. The distinction between civilians and combatants is abolished. The atomic bomb can destroy all life over vast areas. Bacterial warfare presents a similar threat. The total destructive force rained from the skies in five years of aerial warfare in 1940-1945, can, in 1948, be unleashed in thirty minutes. One world or none is thus the choice given us by military reality. It is now a sober political necessity for men all over the globe to co-operate.

Economic and social developments point in the same direction. We lunch in one continent and dine in another. Our voices can reach our fellow beings in every part of the globe in a fraction of a second. Economic welfare and social progress anywhere tend to spread everywhere; their opposites do the same. Scientific discoveries originated anywhere are utilized everywhere. Epidemics and natural catastrophes are met with world-wide measures of defence and help. Economically and socially too, one world is becoming a reality.

A political structure expressing this unity and encouraging the growth of a spirit of fellowship is no longer merely a dream, a desire of idealists; it is a practical problem that we must solve if we are to live.

WORLD CITIZENSHIP

World-wide organization for the conduct of human affairs is therefore essential. No teacher with a sense of realism and even an elementary knowledge of world affairs will ignore this basic need or be indifferent to its consequences for education. World machinery is required; and human beings with the right outlook are required to utilize it or to insist that it be utilized. The educator thus has a double task: to teach about the machinery of world co-operation and to foster the growth of the spirit that will make it function. Education has, in short, the urgent duty to develop informed and competent world citizens.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Driven by the need for world organization, men have twice within the last thirty years attempted to build an all-embracing, inter-governmental agency. The League of Nations was buried under the debris of the war it was constructed to avert. Some people think that the UN will suffer the same fate and are contemptuously sceptical about it, unwilling to study it in detail, and ready to dismiss it offhand, describing it as a crank notion, an instrument of cynical Great Powers, or an ineffective and weak institution. Others regard the UN with fervent hope and leap to its defence at the first breath of criticism. "We must have faith", is their cry. "We must believe in the UN and spread belief in it, and then the world will have peace".

It is advisable to realize that the scepticism, indifference and hostility are realities just as much as the hope and faith. A third reality

is added to them: the existence of the UN in fact, a UN different from the vague concept dismissed by the ignorant critic and lauded by the ignorant enthusiast.

Let us meet the sceptics and the faithful alike on the same ground: a world organization is necessary; the UN exists; let us see how far it meets the need and where and why it does not. We can sincerely and fervently support the cause of world collaboration, and can equally sincerely advocate a realistic study of the chief organization now available to carry it out. To the sceptics we can say: "Very well, some things have been going wrong; let us see just what they are. Let us also see if anything positive has been achieved". To the uncritical enthusiasts we can say: "Yes, some good things have been achieved; let us see just what they are and how they were achieved. Let us also see whether there have been disappointments and why." To both we can say: "There is much we must find out about the UN if we want to understand what is taking place in world affairs so that we can influence them in the direction we desire."

WHAT THE UN IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT

The term "the United Nations" is now very loosely used and this looseness helps to perpetuate confusion. It is, for instance, common to regard "The UN" as a person, a being with will, feelings, wishes, strength, weakness. It may possibly be argued that expressions like "The United Nations wants boys and girls of all nations to be friends" or "The United Nations tries to prevent wars" are appropriate in talking with little children. They have, however, no place in discussions between adults or in teaching older children, since personification of the United Nations makes it well-nigh impossible to understand how the organization in fact functions.

The UN is a term covering several meanings of which the following are particularly important:

1. a conclave of government representatives (exemplified in the General Assembly);
2. promises on the part of governments to pursue certain kinds of international policy, and the machinery set up for that purpose (the Charter of the United Nations and the Statutes of the Specialized Agencies);
3. a body of world civil servants (the Secretariats of the UN and the Specialized Agencies);
4. conclaves of government appointees who are intended to be specialists rather than representatives of their governments'

political policy (exemplified in the Specialized Agencies and various Commissions and Committees of the United Nations).

From the distinctions made above, it is plain that "The UN" should not be looked on as a being existing apart from governments and able to function on its own. Its policy-making organs are composed of government delegates carrying out the instructions of their governments. Decisions ascribed to the UN are thus no more than the results of policies pursued by governments in the Assembly and Council halls and of the same policies pursued by governments outside these meeting places. If they can agree outside the UN buildings, they will agree inside and a common decision will be reached. If their policies are incompatible in the world at large they will be incompatible at Lake Success, and no decision will result.

When, therefore, we speak of "The UN" having reached or having failed to reach a decision, we are really commenting on the ability of our own governments and others to agree. And when we blame "The UN" for allowing a decision to stop at mere words without being carried out in practice, we should again carry the blame a step further to the responsible governments. The Charter does not give the various UN organs the right to issue orders (with the single exception of the Security Council, which has the right to decide on measures to meet a threat to peace and to "call on" member governments to carry them out). UN resolutions have merely the force of recommendations, to which the member governments are morally bound if they wish to adhere to the spirit of their pledges. There have in fact been a number of UN resolutions that governments have failed to carry out or have not faithfully carried out. The fault lies not in the UN organization, not in the Charter, not in the Secretariat, not in anything but the defaulting governments.

Much of the uninformed criticism of "the UN" will be obviated if these distinctions are kept in mind. When the newspapers tell us of a failure of the UN, the reaction will then not be the ignorant one of general condemnation or a shrug of the shoulders, but of informed, critical questioning. What did the various government delegates propose? What, in particular, did my own government do? If my own government took the wrong stand, what forces lay behind this and how can I help to combat them? These questions are interesting and challenging. They stimulate the student of the UN to further study. The uninformed reaction of disappointment, on the other hand, is sterile and deadening to the interest.

Another distinction in the use of words will be helpful to the student of the U.N. There are two ways in which men seek to deal with each other across the boundaries of their own States. One is typified by the Security Council, the other by some of the Specialized Agencies (or by collaboration between, for example, scientists, postal experts, teachers or other specialists from different countries.)

The delegates in the Assembly and the Security Council are government emissaries. They meet as national representatives and deal with each other under directives from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of their nation-states. This form of conducting human affairs across boundaries should strictly be called inter-governmental. By somewhat stretching the term, however, we may accept current usage and call it international since the delegates are mandated to make decisions affecting their whole nation. (It should, however, be realized that the great mass of citizens in the States represented play no direct part in the decisions reached, nor do they even follow them very closely. The term "international" has, therefore, only a very partial application.)

The delegates in the Trusteeship Council and the Economic and Social Council are also government representatives, but are to a much greater extent chosen for their special knowledge in the field covered by the Council to which they are sent. In so far as they in fact conduct themselves as specialists, their dealings with each other fall under the heading of "transnational co-operation" described below. In so far, on the other hand, as they conduct themselves primarily as representatives of their governments' foreign policy, they fall in the same category as the delegates to the Assembly and Security Council.

The delegates to the Specialized Agencies, although appointed by governments, are frequently specialists (for example, health experts in the WHO) or representatives of particular organized interests (for example, labour and employer delegates in the ILO). Mainly, they meet not as foreign office emissaries to manoeuvre in the game of foreign affairs but as colleagues faced with certain common problems. This form of collaboration is often different in scope and spirit from the inter-governmental activities previously described.

A suitable term for it would be "transnational co-operation", that is, the co-operation of groups or individuals *across* boundaries to exchange views or solve common problems. Experience has shown that transnational co-operation generally results in fruitful

agreement. The same cannot always be said of international (intergovernmental) "co-operation". The reason would seem to be that the participants in transnational co-operation generally have a common aim in a limited sphere of human affairs. National representatives, on the other hand, representing the foreign policies of their governments, frequently have conflicting aims in much wider spheres. Transnational co-operation may yet prove to be the way to prevent *international* war.

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Charter describes the machinery of the United Nations, and the aims and principles to which the member governments have pledged themselves and their peoples.

Knowledge of the Charter is therefore essential to the would-be world citizen. A study of the historical background of the Charter will help to turn this knowledge into understanding.

It is important to realize at the outset that the Charter was shaped by forces pulling in diverse directions, not only between the delegations, but even within individual delegations. These forces still influence the use which governments make of the machinery they have jointly created.

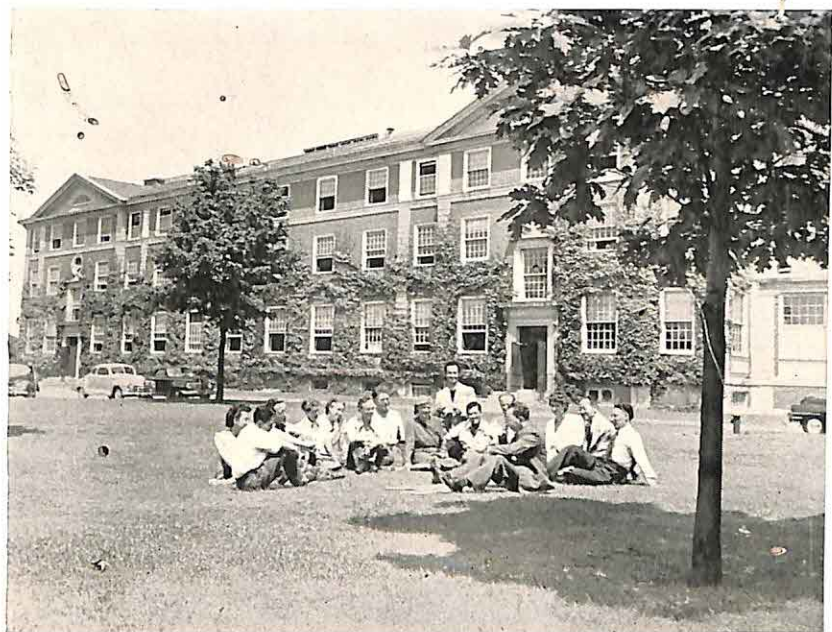
The UN Charter consists of a Preamble and more than a hundred articles. They vary in importance to the general reader; but there are certain points that require serious study by anyone seeking to understand the UN.

First among them is the Preamble. Its opening words read : "WE, THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DETERMINED..."

Seen in their historical setting, these words throw light on a matter of basic importance, indeed on the central question as to whether the UN organization will be an instrument of world progress and peace or whether it will, like its predecessor, fall apart in a new world war.

Foreign affairs were at one time in no way considered to be the concern of common people. They were the exclusive province of the potentate; indeed they were his way of conducting his rivalries with other potentates. A diplomat was the personal representative of his ruler, sharing in some measure his prestige and pursuing his ends. Those ends, being chiefly power and riches, were naturally in conflict with the ends pursued by other potentates.

Diplomacy thus came to have a characteristic spirit and code. Military force was its underlying reality, rivalry and intrigue its



Informal group of participants in the grounds of Adelphi College, New York.



Mrs. Roosevelt talks to some of the participants in the grounds of her home.

atmosphere. Prestige was regarded as of paramount importance.

Much of this spirit remains. The general assumption behind delegates' deliberations is still all too frequently that the interests they seek are necessarily obtained at the expense of those sought by other delegates.

This, then, is one set of views and traditions operating in the UN councils. But other views also make themselves felt. With the growth of constitutional government, foreign affairs have ceased to be a personal venture of the ruler and have become the province of the whole government. Their aim is no longer regarded as that of furthering the ruler's personal interest, but the nation's. With the growth of political democracy, a further shift is slowly taking place: there is a growing demand that foreign policy shall not only serve the interests of the people but that its *conduct shall be brought under the control of the people*. This last idea is still disputed in theory and far from consistently applied in practice. Even popular opinion commonly accepts the view that foreign affairs are too complex for the general public to follow and are best left to the government.

The UN Charter reflects this development. The opening words of the Preamble represent at least a verbal victory for the democratic view.

In the Covenant of the League of Nations it was "The High Contracting Parties" that planned and signed the document. In the Charter of the UN it is "We the peoples" who are "determined" to achieve peace and progress and therefore, through our governments, draw up the Charter. Verbal victory does not guarantee victory in fact. Old traditions die hard.

But perhaps the most difficult of all the old concepts to bring up-to-date is that of State or "national" interests. The potentate identified the State with himself: in pursuing personal aggrandizement, he considered himself to be seeking the power and glory of the State. So strong is men's need for loyalty and so ready the tendency to identify themselves with the object of their loyalty that his subjects commonly accepted this view. They regarded their ruler's increased girth as their own, even while they were being ruined or slaughtered to achieve it.

These tendencies are still operative. Today we frequently find governments pursuing the vested interests of small but powerful groups while proclaiming—perhaps even believing—that they pursue national interests. And we commonly have the mass of citizens accepting this fraud. Their need for an object of loyalty is

met no longer by the symbolic figure of a potentate, but by the symbolic figure of the Nation; their tendency to identify themselves with the object of their loyalty makes them believe that to achieve what they are told are national interests is really to achieve *their* interests. Thus we have the paradox that common men support policies which are not at all in their interest, which may indeed be in conflict with their most urgent interest in the atomic age: peace.

The emergence of the words "We, the peoples" is no more than a promise. Unless citizens of all countries follow critically the actions of their national representatives, the promise will remain mere words. It is important to realize that the *citizens of each country should primarily watch their own governmental representatives*. After all, each of us has primary responsibility for his own government and can influence it more easily than any other. And it is our own government that binds us, at least morally, by decisions reached in the General Assembly and Security Council.

This brings up another implication of the phrase "We the peoples". We, as citizens, have the duty to see that decisions made on our behalf are carried out. There are already a number of agreements entered into by member governments that are not being honoured with the passive or active acceptance of their citizens.

A final comment should be made on the words "We the peoples". They are a great advance on the phrase "The High Contracting Parties". But they show that there is still a long way to go. The plural "peoples" indicates an assumption that mankind is naturally divided into different peoples, and that the affairs of men are consequently best dealt with by national representatives acting in the name of all their fellow citizens. This is an assumption that should be questioned. The psychological basis for a world society would surely be better expressed by the phrase "We the people", thus recognizing that the unity of mankind is fundamental, whereas subdivisions and their governments are secondary.

THE ARTICLES OF THE CHARTER

The Articles of the Charter also have added significance when regarded as steps in historical development. Behind many of the dry legalistic words there lies a story of heated debate and repeated clashes of opposing views on society. In this short report we can do little more than recommend further study on this point and select what appear to be the highlights of the Charter as it now stands.

The most important Articles seem to us to be grouped around the following principles :

I. CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE HANDS OF CERTAIN GOVERNMENTS

Articles 9-22 set up the General Assembly and 23-55 the Security Council. The Assembly is composed of representatives of all member governments, the Security Council of representatives of the governments of China, France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and, in addition, of six other governments elected by the Assembly. The Security Council has certain strictly limited powers to make decisions binding on other governments. The five "Great Power" governments are given permanent seats on this Council and a dominant position on it (see below on "Unanimity"). The Security Council has furthermore important powers of initiative not granted to any other organ; for example, it proposes a candidate for the office of Secretary General, recommends acceptance of new members of the UN, and suspension or expulsion of existing members, and draws up plans for the use of armed force. The Security Council is in constant session. When it is dealing with a dispute, the General Assembly is debarred from making recommendations regarding the problem, unless requested to do so by the Security Council.

The General Assembly meets once a year, although additional special meetings may be called. By virtue of its being the assembly of all the member governments and being empowered to scrutinize the actions of all the other organs, it occupies a very important position. It also determines the budget of the whole organization.

Both the Security Council and the General Assembly are primarily political bodies, the delegates composing them being government emissaries.

There is thus a concentration of power in the UN, in the first place, in the hands of governments as opposed to other organizations whether specialist or lay, and in the second place, in the hands of the five so-called "Great Power" governments.

This structure has not gone wholly unchallenged. Opposing it are, broadly speaking, two other concepts: one of more direct popular representation, the other of representation of organized specialists in limited fields. The extreme form of popular representation would be to have delegates chosen by direct vote from districts drawn up within or even across the boundaries of nation states; a

more moderate form would be to have representatives of various parties within each state in proportion to that party's voting strength. Either form would give greater variety of opinion in closer touch with the electorate than having a government delegate, and there would be less likelihood of the traditional "foreign office" view being dominant.

Representation by specialists would be another solution. If, for example, a body of specialists such as the Food and Agriculture Organization were given powers not only to draw up plans in their respective fields but to bind member governments to carry them out, this would be a step towards removing important parts of world affairs altogether from the realm of traditional foreign policy. It would be a beginning of functional world government based on transnational rather than international co-operation.

Neither of these views has made much headway, although it is evident from such instances as that of the World Health Organization, which may adopt health regulations binding on Member States, that the door is not wholly shut on the development of functional world government (see the remarks below on the Economic and Social Council). The prevailing ideology was and remains "international" in the sense of regarding the nation-state structure of mankind as basic and world affairs as best dealt with by governments. The power structure of the United Nations is therefore intergovernmental with *de facto* concentration in the hands of the most powerful governments.

It should, however, be pointed out that there is a factor not wholly within the governmental power structure: the factor of public opinion. The Charter provides the occasion for open discussion of important questions. It is doubtful whether the arguments put forward by one diplomat change the point of view of another; but when their exchanges are made in public some measure of public discussion follows and some growth of public opinion results. This is an important gain over the old completely secret diplomacy. However, it is not a gain that should be exaggerated. When the delegates of Ruritania and Aquitania clash, the popular press in the former is unlikely to feature the arguments of the latter and vice versa. The same can be said of the press in other states where regimes favour either of the disputants. And those that are disinterested are not infrequently uninterested. The various organs of the UN have certain powers of influencing public opinion, but these powers are limited.

II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS EVERYWHERE: A NEW GOAL FOR FOREIGN POLICY

The structure of the UN still largely expresses the old views of the conduct of foreign affairs in spite of the verbal victory in the phrase "We the peoples". The emerging democratic view has, however, won an important practical victory in the Articles setting up the Economic and Social Council through which the Specialized Agencies are linked to the UN, as are the various commissions of experts in economic, social and cultural fields.

Article 55 lays down that a rising standard of living and of cultural opportunity are a common concern of nations. In article 56 the member governments pledge themselves to "joint and separate action" to realize this common interest. And in Article 61 a special organ is created for this purpose: the Economic and Social Council.

We thus have a new view of foreign affairs given expression in words and implemented in machinery. Henceforth governments will either break their pledges or conduct foreign policies aimed at serving the material and cultural interests of the people *everywhere*. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, if governments were in fact to make Article 56 their guide in foreign policy, we could eventually dispense with the Security Council.

The Economic and Social Council and the Specialized Agencies deal with the real interests of the people— food, clothes, shelter, working conditions, leisure pursuits, education, scientific and cultural progress, and civil rights. From the point of view of "We the people" these are realities, the preoccupations of the Security Council illusions—illusions of grandeur, power, prestige. Unfortunately, although men live meagrely on such illusions, they die profusely for them.

UNANIMITY AMONG THE GREAT POWER GOVERNMENTS

Article 27 lays down that decisions of the Security Council (on all except mere procedural questions) must be approved by at least 7 of the Council's 11 members, and that the 7 must include all of the 5 permanent members. Article 27 means in fact that no decision can be made if a single Great Power Government opposes it. This is the much talked-of veto. There was a great deal of controversy about this article before it was adopted and the discussion continues today. The main arguments against the veto are of course that it paralyzes the UN and that it gives the Small Power

Governments almost no influence on decisions in the Security Council. There is also the general ideological argument that the will of the majority should not be blocked by a minority, least of all a minority of 1 out of 11. The commonest counter-argument is that Article 27 is realistic: a decision against the determined opposition of a Great Power Government would remain a dead letter or, if pressed, would lead, not to a police action but to world war—the very thing the UN was founded to avoid. The historical explanation of Article 27 lies in the common struggle against Fascism. The Great Power Governments were caught up in the spirit of a common enterprise or lifted into it by popular opinion. It seemed not unreasonable to suppose that the need for unanimity which common warfare interposed and which was successfully met, would also be realized and successfully met in building a joint defence for the future *against the same enemy*. That enemy seemed at the time to be the only serious danger to world peace.

Times have changed. But the question of the veto goes deeper than the realistic argument or the historical explanation. The veto is an alarm bell: when it sounds, we should not try to silence it but to look for the trouble that has set it ringing.

What is this trouble? It is the incompatible aims of governments, pursuing "national interests" conceived in the old tradition of foreign policy. Aims such as increasing one's own military, political and economic strength relative to others; or aiding economic groups in one's own country to obtain monopoly or special privileges in another country; or imposing one's ideology, must of necessity be in conflict with similar aims pursued by other governments. So long as such interests are the ultimate concern of governments, they cannot afford to give up sovereignty, or its guardian, the veto. For in power politics, majority rule becomes a travesty: the majority is not built on a common view on common issues, but is made by shifts in alliances occasioned by pressure, or by *mariages de convenance*. There is no blinking the fact that small power governments are today grouped uneasily about the competing governments of the larger powers, and that the latter frequently direct arguments and votes under the influence of power rivalries rather than on the merits of the case.

Each time the veto is used, it is a reminder of this unhappy state of affairs, a recurring exposure of the nature of the policies pursued by the governments concerned. The intelligent reaction to the veto should not therefore be a condemnation of the veto as such,

but a critical examination of the "national interests" proclaimed by the disputing governments.

So long as governments pursue power politics, the veto is a lesser evil than its abolition would be. Without it, the likelihood of war would merely be increased and the opportunity decreased for citizens outside government circles to follow what is taking place.

REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

Article 52 recognizes the existence of special regional organizations. Whether we are thinking of intergovernmental (international) dealings or transnational co-operation, it seems reasonable to encourage regional activity as a natural step towards wider co-ordination. There are in fact in existence a multitude of transnational activities and intergovernmental arrangements on a regional basis. The latter include numerous bilateral treaties or treaties between a small number of neighbour states.

The Charter represents the results of conflicting views on this question: the view that more limited organizations are practical and natural, and the view that the world organization may be weakened by such special agreements, particularly when they have military elements. Articles 52, 53 and 54 seek both to encourage regional co-operation and to bring in regional agreements under the overriding authority of the Charter. A point not openly dealt with is, of course, the danger of the regional blocks being dominated by the governments of Great Powers and exploited for aims of power politics or in the interests of ideological or economic pressure groups. This danger should be kept in mind in studying developments in areas under regional organization.

TRUSTEESHIP AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

One of the darkest chapters in human history is colonial exploitation: the rule of vast masses of people by small groups having different languages, customs, faith and outlook, enjoying a vastly different standard of living, ruthless or paternal as they see fit, but consistent in one thing—exploitation. Although this kind of "international" activity was a dominant feature of the latter half of the nineteenth century, today large areas under colonial rule present a far less gloomy picture.

One of the brightest aspects of human history is, on the other hand, the sympathy of man for man, and the warm-hearted struggle

against exploitation of fellow human beings waged by many men, including not a few colonial administrators.

With these two elements a third is intermixed: man's desire for independence. It has grown and spread until in our days none can fail to see its message. Wherever they are and whatever their condition or colour or creed, men desire to direct their own lives, to come together with their neighbours to settle common affairs, to enjoy the fruits of their own labour or to share the fruits of joint labour. This desire for independence is nowhere more strongly felt than among the colonially exploited peoples.

It is difficult to give an exact figure for the number of people now under a rule that may properly be called colonial, which, in spite of improvements over recent years, still often amounts to rule at a distance by alien groups primarily in the interest of those groups. Current estimates vary between 200 and 300 millions. To these must be added large numbers of people with nominal self-government who are *de facto* ruled largely according to the dictates of more powerful governments than their own.

In spite of the large number still under some form of colonial rule, very marked progress has been registered during the last forty years. At the turn of the century probably half the world's population was thus ruled. Today certainly less than a fifth are so. There has been a corresponding improvement in the attitude of public opinion towards colonialism, and a very marked increase in the scope and sharpness of the demand for independence on the part of the exploited.

These changes are reflected in the Charter, which is a considerable advance over the League of Nations Covenant, not to speak of the scattered and strictly limited intergovernmental agreements before that.

The necessity to dispose of the German colonies and the inability of the victors to agree on division of the spoils was no doubt a strong factor in setting up the Mandates provisions in the Covenant. Yet they represent a victory for the conscience of man as well. The Covenant gives expression to an idea which, while not wholly new, was then for the first time officially recognized by the Member Governments as binding on them all: that the well-being and development of the people in the Mandated Territories are "a sacred trust of civilization". Their interests, reads the Covenant, are to be put first. The inclusion of this statement in the Covenant is a recognition that the problem is a responsibility of all, not merely of the interested Powers.

The UN Charter carries this idea further. Members are invited to place not only former Mandated Territories, but also other dependencies under the Trusteeship system, and a principal organ is set up, responsible to the General Assembly, to supervise or administer such areas. This is the Trusteeship Council.

Trust Territories are defined as territories placed under the system by agreement and fall into the following categories (1) the former Mandated Territories; (2) territories taken by the allies during the second world war; (3) any other territory a colonial power may volunteer to place under the Trusteeship system.

Article 76 lays down that the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants "is a basic objective of the trusteeship system", as is also (although this is said with some ambiguity and hedging) their development towards independence. A special category of Trust Territory is one designated as a strategic area. The Security Council and not the General Assembly is here the supervising agent, and there may be restrictions on the right of entry of persons other than those approved by the Power holding the territory.

The Trusteeship Council has the right and duty to call for an annual report on the administration of each ordinary Trust Territory from the administering government. It is also given the task of making periodic inspection on the spot "at times agreed upon with the administering authority".

The Trusteeship Council is composed *ex officio* of representatives of the five Great Power Governments, plus all governments administering a Trust Territory, plus an additional number of representatives of governments not administering Trust Territories sufficient to make the administering and non-administering groups of equal size. The latter are elected by the General Assembly, which also receives and debates an annual report from the Trusteeship Council.

There is no doubt that all this gives support to the general advancement of peoples in Trust Territories and even some support to their move towards independence. Nevertheless, it is equally apparent that the support is limited and that old colonial ideas and practices have not been wholly abandoned.

People under trusteeship form a minority of the "dependent" peoples today. The majority are under various forms of colonial rule. In regard to them, too, the Charter marks a considerable ideological advance and some practical gains. They are now officially described as peoples of "Non-Self-Governing Territories" and the League words "sacred trust" are used about them, member

governments pledging themselves (Article 73) to the principle that "the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount". Independence is not officially recognized as a goal for these territories, but the development of self government is explicitly described as an aim of the administering power. The greatest practical step forward is the pledge to transmit to the Secretary-General of the UN an annual report giving "statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions" in the Territory (but, significantly enough, not political conditions). Article 77 opens the door to further improvement: governments "responsible for the administration" of Non-Self-Governing Territories are implicitly invited to bring them in under the trusteeship system. To date none of them has done this.

The "new deal" afforded these colonial peoples by the UN Charter is thus a great step forward, but still less than the support given the advancement of the peoples in (non-strategic) Trust Territories. Some of the cross-currents behind the formulations of the Charter and its implementation in practice are illuminated by certain experiences during the first year of the Trusteeship System's existence. Twenty-six petitions were submitted to the Council from the inhabitants of Trust Territories; of these, twenty-three were from white residents (chiefly Germans and Italians) concerning their particular interests, and only three from natives. Another significant event was the action taken by the Indian delegation in the Assembly and the rebuff with which it met. The Indian delegation proposed a resolution in which the General Assembly would have expressed the hope that "Members of the United Nations responsible for the Administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories will propose Trusteeship Agreements... for all or some of such territories as are not ready for self-government". The resolution was defeated by a narrow margin. Whether the hope was defeated depends no doubt on other factors than a show of hands in the Assembly.

ADMISSION OF ALL "PEACE-LOVING" STATES TO THE UN

The UN was founded by governments that were waging war together against the Fascist Powers. This basic fact colours many of the provisions of the Charter including Article 4, which lays down conditions of admission for new states. It says that "membership in the UN is open to all peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations".

The term "peace-loving" owes its origin to the war against the Fascist Powers. If the Charter were to be rewritten today there would no doubt be cool and critical minds that would point out that all "states" (if by this word is meant the majority of their citizens) are peace-loving most of the time. So are most governments; but they frequently put other goals first in their foreign policy even at the risk of war. Evidently the whole concept of a peace-loving state requires clarification.

The rest of Article 4 is more precise. The applicant must accept the obligations of the Charter and, in the opinion of the UN members, be able to carry them out. This would rule out Fascist governments bent on aggression, and chaotic states with governments too insecure to direct policy or governments independent in name only but actually under the rule of some other government. Evidently we have here a wide margin of interpretation. If Article 4 is strictly interpreted, it is indeed doubtful whether many—or any—states would qualify, so wide and general is the gap between verbal expression and daily practice. Which of the Great Power Governments today is consistently observing the pledge required of new members to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force..." and how many governments, great or small, are consistently accepting the obligations of the Charter in regard to human rights of all kinds?

The second paragraph in Article 4 lays down that application for membership must be recommended by the Security Council before being voted on by the Assembly. This means, of course, that a single Great Power government can block the admission of a new member.

This has in fact happened. A certain number of states have been admitted, others blocked by veto in the Council. The blunt truth is that the governments in the Security Council have not always voted primarily on the merits of the applicants, still less according to the dictates of charity and humility, but rather according to the promptings of power politics. There have even been some not very successful attempts at trading: you let my friend in and I will let yours. This is a serious departure from the ideals expressed in the Charter and it reveals the dominance of power politics in inter-governmental "co-operation".

There is a growing force of opinion that recommendations on new members should be regarded as procedural and hence not subject to the veto. The argument here is that admitting a member is not a matter where coercion of the dissident powers may be necessary

to enforce the decision, with the consequent danger of war. The argument against this, on the other hand, is that if power politics now play a negative part in admission of members, they may play a positive part if the veto is removed. An unscrupulous government might encourage spurious territorial divisions into "states" and sponsor their application for membership to increase the number of votes at its disposal in the Assembly or Councils. The only answer an ordinary citizen can make to this dilemma is to say that so long as power politics are pursued by governments, this and other dilemmas will remain.

THE SECRETARIAT SERVES MANKIND

A Secretariat is required to run the machinery of the UN much as a body of civil servants is required for the machinery of government in an individual state.

Article 97 recognizes this need, laying down that there shall be a Secretariat and that the Assembly (on the recommendation of the Security Council) shall appoint a Secretary-General. Article 101 empowers the Secretary-General to appoint the necessary staff.

The Secretariat officials have a peculiar position in the intergovernmental world of today. They are nationals of their own countries, to which they presumably will return on leaving the Secretariat, and to which they are granted periodic "home leave". On the other hand, they are not appointed by their governments but by the Secretary-General and they are (Article 100) expressly forbidden to "seek or receive instruction from any government". Member Governments, in their turn, pledge themselves to "respect the exclusively international character" of the Secretariat and "not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities".

We have here a position with some inherent contradictions. The logical structure would surely be to have a World Secretariat with world citizenship. There are persons who advocate this structure; they are countered by the "realists" who point out that "world citizens" in fact do not have the freedom of the world since there is from the point of view of passports, residence, etc., no "world" but merely nation-states and their dependencies. And they are also countered by the "internationalists", who welcome the nation-state structure of mankind and think that the best international civil servant is he who can contribute a national outlook yet be objective in carrying out instructions or disseminating information.

There may conceivably be occasions where the Secretary-General or

some other functionary feels that his duties to mankind demand his taking action that will be disapproved by certain governments, perhaps even by the majority of governments in the Security Council to which he owes his appointment.

Some recognition of this independence of governments and moral obligation to something beyond them is given in Article 99, which empowers the Secretary-General to "bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security". Bringing such a matter before the Council means, of course, focusing public attention on it.

NEED FOR STUDYING THE PRACTICE AS WELL AS THE THEORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The writers of this report have tried to present the United Nations realistically as a complex of machinery, men, pledges and ideas. In such a complex we must expect imperfections, contradictions, differences between words and deeds—but also new ideas arising from a clash of views, from new problems and *ad hoc* solutions. It is therefore essential not only to study the UN in theory but to follow its functioning in practice.

This is especially important to those who would teach about the United Nations. They should make every effort to acquaint themselves with the physical reality of the UN: visit Lake Success, see the various rooms and offices, trace the theoretical structure in tangible objects and persons. But they should do more: follow the handling of one or more specific problems in detail, sit in on the discussions on the Council or Commission or other body dealing with the question, study its background, observe and analyze the actions of the governments or other delegates concerned, follow the presentation of the matter in the radio and press, compare what takes place with what the Charter demands, study the part played by the Secretariat. It seems safe to say that a thorough examination of one or a few problems in this way will lead the student not only to a firm grasp of the UN machinery and Charter, but to a new understanding of world affairs.

We strongly recommend that all courses, seminars or "workshops" arranged about the UN in the vicinity of Lake Success should give a very considerable part of their time to study of this sort. When the distance is too great to permit visits, it would still be desirable to follow the functioning of the UN in specific examples, using

documentary material such as verbatim reports of discussions, the *Yearbook of the UN*, the *UN Bulletin*, press and radio accounts, background material, etc. Without studies of this kind, we can only say how the UN might function or ought to function; we do not know how it functions, and we do not advance appreciably in understanding world affairs.

INTRODUCING THE UNITED NATIONS TO SCHOOLS OF THE ARAB WORLD

A Joint Statement Prepared by

MRS. ISHAN ABED, EGYPT

MR. YASIN MUGHIR, SYRIA

The preservation of the Arab world through its long history as a distinct political and cultural unity is due, most of all, to its common language, traditions and aspirations. The existence of this unity will be a valuable asset in any endeavour to disseminate knowledge and interest about the United Nations in Arab states, as the problems encountered during the work in any one Arab country will also be encountered in all the others. It is this uniformity which makes it possible, incidentally, for the representatives of two Arab countries (Syria and Egypt) to join forces in preparing this paper.

Teaching about the United Nations in schools of the Arab world raises at once a profound political issue. The aspiration to unity is, for the Arab peoples, an historic experience which has its roots in their revolt against Ottoman domination and their quest for liberation from Ottoman sovereignty. During the first world war the Arabs threw in their lot with the Allies against the Turks, in expectation of the independence they were promised for their support. In the actual event, however, the Arab world was left divided into spheres of foreign influence and its fortunes further embarrassed by the Palestine situation. This disappointing upshot engendered among Arab nationalists everywhere a sense of bitterness and a lack of confidence in the "West"—an outlook which sharply checked the movement towards westernization of the Arab world. The leaders of nationalist movements, although themselves drawn from intellectuals who had received their education in western institutions, felt that they had been deceived by the West, and, despite their progressive outlook, they joined forces with conservative and reactionary elements in denouncing the Western Powers. The intensity of this political feeling was so acute, and so preoccupied the Arab mind, that all attention to the problems of social and economic welfare was inhibited.

When the United Nations was being brought into existence,

Arab hopes revived. This renewed faith and expectation, however, proved to be short-lived, for within two years after the formation of the United Nations, the partition of Palestine was voted by its major assembly. The Arabs believe, rightly or wrongly, that the UN has thereby committed a great wrong. Their educated classes, no less than the masses, have lost faith in the UN, and it is with the greatest difficulty that Arab governments have prevented this feeling from reaching extreme expression. The average man in all the Arab countries has come to believe that the UN will bring benefits only to the big and self-interested powers, and all the actions and utterances of the Organization seem to the Arab no more than a disguised repetition of the old formulae of imperialism and domination.

In the face of these conditions it is very difficult to win the Arab world to support the UN or to organize effective teaching about it in Arab schools, for no system of education can expect to succeed against the emotional resistance of its young people or against the sentiment of the masses it seeks to reach.

For all that, we must persevere in the attempt to popularize the principle of international co-operation which is implicit in the UN. The scientific and technological advances of the last century have created such a sense of interdependence among nations that any backward drift towards national isolation will prove disastrous. It was indeed because of that deplorable tendency that the world has been afflicted with two savage wars within twenty-five years.

The United Nations, the second organized effort to establish world peace, should benefit from the experiences of the League of Nations which, although it failed politically in the end, did in fact survive for twenty years and accomplish much in the social and economic fields. Despite its errors and shortcomings the UN has already shown some advances over the League. It has achieved some measure of international co-operation, and it continues to wrestle with the problem of atomic bomb control, a problem which must be settled if the world is to enjoy security. The Specialized Agencies of the UN are also engaged in valuable constructive activities, and it can be confidently maintained that the work of such agencies as WHO, ILO, FAO, and Unesco constitutes a strong guarantee against the collapse of the UN. People who feel disappointed that the UN has not solved all the world's political conundrums, or has not resolved the conflict between opposite camps, can find comfort in the achievement of these agencies; and, indeed, it is reasonable to assert that the masses in many parts of the world



A study group at work.



Some participants examine a Unesco exhibition on Teaching about the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies.

are more immediately concerned and interested in the progress of the Specialized Agencies than in the problems of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Consider, for instance, the example of WHO. The importance of this organization is exemplified in the part which it played during the Egyptian cholera epidemic of 1947. The first diagnosis of cholera, on 25 September of that year, was promptly reported to WHO. The Egyptian Government declared that, if it were adequately supplied with cholera vaccine, it could handle the outbreak. WHO at once made arrangements with two large manufacturers to produce the quantities of vaccine required and, consequently, by its fifth week, the epidemic had begun to abate. On 23 January 1948, the Egyptian Government was able to announce to WHO that the country was cholera-free.

If world co-operation of this order and on this scale is to be equally effective in other matters, there must first be created a firm basis for international understanding among citizens of all nations; and in providing this basis the young people of the world have a particular part to play. If they are to do so they must, however, be given an adequate supply of facts on which to fashion their thinking and their action. To keep them thus equipped is the role of the educator. Young people must be informed by their teachers of the nature and complexity of the problems which surround them in the modern world, so that they can be made to realize what is involved in creating an interdependent world society. An education of this kind in current affairs costs money as well as effort, and it may be asked: "Can countries faced with a heavy programme of reconstruction and social reform afford to spend time and money on education for world citizenship?" There can be only one answer. Countries which are ready for this educational advance will not wait for the laggards to catch up. Interdependence among countries is nowadays as much a material as a moral necessity, for technological progress is calling the tune and showing us increasingly how dependent for our survival and advance we are upon each other. National improvement and international improvement are, therefore, objectives which must be simultaneously pursued.

Improving national education, moreover, will obviously make at least an indirect contribution to the international education of pupils, for by teaching them the history and geography of the world, the variety of its cultures, the characteristics of its peoples, we are helping to strengthen their sense of international understanding. Only those who are well informed about the world can appreciate

the value of international co-operation and the common interests of all peoples. Nevertheless the fact remains that these educational improvements are costly, and other governments may not be able to afford them. For this reason it might be recommended that the appropriate organizations, either of the UN or of its Specialized Agencies, should provide financial aid.

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The introduction into school time-tables of new subjects or, what is more common, of new methods, is not an operation which can be accomplished overnight or by any particular individual. It calls for co-operative planning by the teachers, and it requires realistic adaptation to actual conditions in the schools. When the Executive Committee of the National Education Association of the United States asked the Associated Committee on International Relations to make a study of the part that American schools could and should play in the maintenance of peace, two other organizations were invited to join in sponsoring the study. They were: (a) the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, and (b) the National Council for the Social Studies.

This joint enquiry, which occupied two years of investigation and discussion, took evidence from nearly a thousand experts on world affairs, school teachers, professors and administrators, and the cost of their enquiry ran to \$26,000. The example is quoted in order to show that if really effective methods of teaching about the United Nations in the Arab world are to be found, the first necessity is to institute enquiries as well staffed with experts, and as well financed, as the enquiry referred to above.

If planning of a similar quality is to be organized for schools of the Arab states, certain immediate steps are proposed. One such step is to establish regional and national seminars for studying the problem under the supervision of a special committee and with the assistance of representatives of the UN and Unesco. The object of these seminars would be:

a) to stimulate the interest of the participating members in the problem of international co-operation, and in the machinery required for that purpose, and to conduct a survey of the UN activities in all appropriate spheres;

b) to examine means of fostering international education in all schools and colleges.

The members of these seminars should include university

instructors, educational administrators, inspectors and teachers of all grades. If representatives of private as well as public educational institutions were also invited to the seminars, interest in international education might thereby be widened.

In considering, at this stage, the kind of curriculum which might be evolved from the study of these seminars, there appear to be three levels at which the teaching about UN should be applied: the elementary, the secondary, and the higher.

1. *The Elementary Level*

At this early stage the most applicable method would seem to be to give simple information about the children of other countries, for example, about their games, their dances, their songs, their stories.

2. *The Secondary Level*

At this stage much can be done by direct teaching, and several proposals may be suggested:

a) Making students aware that there are differences of culture between the nations. What is here proposed is a form of simplified anthropology applied to art, music, dancing and drama.

b) Introducing into the study of history and citizenship a section on the UN. This section would cover a study of the Charter which would serve to give pupils some understanding of the aims and structure of the UN and its Agencies. In the lower grades a useful approach might be made through biographies of outstanding men in the international field. In the higher grades, the aim would be to study the activities of the Commissions and Agencies which stem from the UN.

c) Relating the activities of the UN to the various subjects of the ordinary curriculum; for example, WHO would be related to biology and hygiene; FAO to biology, agriculture, and food studies; the Hylean Amazon project of Unesco to science and geography. Problems of atomic energy might also be introduced into the timetable and related to questions which now confront the UN.

d) Introducing into all secondary school time-tables a period on current affairs. This class period should be supervised by a teacher who has a lively interest in, and a knowledge of, current problems, and who is alert to seize upon and clarify for the pupils any outstanding issue in current events. Such a period will require

certain literature, visual aids, and other materials, and this should be supplied to the Educational and Cultural Bureau of the Arab League by the United Nations or its Specialized Agencies. Documentary films are equally essential for these studies, and it is important that those used should counteract the highly speculative and inaccurate motion pictures so often shown in cinemas.

e) Providing suitable material in the school library.

f) Organizing a system of extra-curricular activities. Pupils should be given the chance to practise for themselves the principles of self-government in their clubs and welfare activities, for this habit fosters team-spirit and respect for each other's points of view. The formation of international clubs is another useful method, especially when these clubs encourage correspondence with children abroad, debates on world affairs, and even stamp and coin collecting. Art and drama clubs, also, are capable of including in their programmes many activities which promote international understanding.

3. *Higher Education*

At this level more concentrated and advanced courses on the UN can be brought into the time-table. Indeed, much of what is recommended at the secondary level could be applied, more intensively, at the university level. Students should be encouraged to organize trips abroad for the purpose of conversing with students of every country, a process which should always be based on two-way traffic. Nothing is more effective in promoting international understanding at this stage than personal contact, and these contacts should be increased as much as possible.

The suggestions made in the foregoing paragraphs indicate only a few examples of what might be done at all educational levels. In all teaching on the UN it should be stressed that the principles of the organization are intrinsically sound and attainable, and that an organization such as the UN is essential to preserve the peace and welfare of mankind. It should be emphasized further that if and when the UN has failed it is because its principles have not been applied in a particular case. The idea of the UN can, in fact, be compared with a man's religion: if he is not faithful to it, it does not follow that the religion itself is not good.

The general task of promoting such teaching about the UN can be effectively conducted by the Arab League, the organization which is already charged with the all-round political, economic and cultural revival of the Arab world. It would be possible for

the Arab League to set up a special annex of its Educational and Cultural Bureau to perform a two-fold task:

a) to receive from the UN and its Specialized Agencies all information and other material, and to translate and adapt it for use in Arab countries;

b) to serve as a clearing-house for reports from Ministries of Education of Arab countries on their experiences in teaching about the UN, and to integrate these accounts into one single report to be submitted to the UN and Unesco.

In conclusion, it should be made clear that this paper is concerned only with teaching about the UN *in educational establishments*. The problem of familiarizing the Arab public with the subject is a more difficult and exacting one. Our comments must end, indeed, with the caution which we stressed at the beginning of this paper, and a reminder of the scepticism which we reported as being the general attitude toward the UN in Arab countries. Nevertheless, it may reasonably be hoped that, if the kind of teaching which we propose for the Arab schools is effective, its success may also be reflected in public opinion.

APPENDIX

LIST OF STAFF MEMBERS AND PARTICIPANTS

who attended the
Seminar on Teaching about the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies

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